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692 Art. 109. The Supreme Court of the Russian SFSR is the highest judicial organ of the Russian SFSR. The Supreme Court of the Russian SFSR is charged with the supervision of the judicial activities of all the judicial organs of the Russian SFSR, the Autonomous Republics and the Autonomous Regions.

Art. 110. The Supreme Court of the Russian SFSR is elected by the Supreme Soviet of the Russian SFSR for a term of five years.

Art. 111. The Supreme Courts of the Autonomous Republics are elected by the Supreme Soviets of the Autonomous Republics for a term of five years.

Art. 112. Territorial and Regional Courts, the Courts of Autonomous Regions, the Courts of National [illegible] and administrative Areas are elected by the territorial and regional Soviets of Working People's Deputies, by the Soviets of Working People's Deputies of Autonomous Regions and by the Soviets of Working People's Deputies of National and administrative Areas for a term of five years.

Art. 113. People's Courts are elected by the citizens of the districts on the basis of universal, direct and equal suffrage by secret ballot for a term of three years.

695 [693] Art. 114. Judicial proceedings in the Russian SFSR are conducted in the Russian language or in the language of the Autonomous Republic, the Autonomous Region or the National Area, persons not knowing the language being guaranteed every opportunity of fully acquainting themselves with the material of the case through an interpreter and likewise the right to use their own language in court.

Art. 115. In all courts of the Russian SFSR cases are heard in public, unless otherwise provided for by law, and the accused is guaranteed the right to be defended by counsel.

693 Art. 116. Judges are independent and subject only to the law.

Art. 117. Supreme supervisory power to ensure the strict observance of the law by all Ministries and institutions subordinate to them, as well as by officials and citizens within the territory of the Russian SFSR generally, is exercised by the Procurator-General of the USSR directly and also through the Procurator of the Russian SFSR.

Art. 118. The Procurator of the Russian SFSR and the regional procurators are appointed by the Procurator-General of the USSR for a term of five years.

Art. 119. Procurators of territories and regions, of Autonomous Republics and Autonomous Regions are appointed by the Procurator-General of the USSR for a term of five years.

Art. 120. Procurators of National and administrative Areas, districts and cities are appointed by the Procurator of the Russian SFSR subject to the approval of the Procurator-General of the USSR for a term of five years.

Art. 121. The organs of the Procurator's Office perform their functions independently of any local organs whatsoever, being subordinate solely to the Procurator-General of the USSR.

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Chapter XI. Fundamental Rights and Duties of Citizens

[641] Art. 122. Citizens of the Russian SFSR have the right to work, that is, are guaranteed the right to employment and payment for their work in accordance with its quantity and quality.

The right to work is ensured by the socialist organization of the national economy, the steady growth of the productive forces of Soviet society, the elimination of the possibility of economic crises and the abolition of unemployment.

Art. 123. Citizens of the Russian SFSR have the right to rest and leisure.

[466] The right to rest and leisure is ensured by the fixing of the working day for factory and office workers at eight hours and the reduction of the working day to seven or six hours for arduous trades and to four hours in workshops where conditions of work are exceptionally arduous; by the institution of annual vacations with full pay for factory and office workers; and by the provision of a wide network of sanatoria, rest-homes and clubs for the accommodation of the working people.

[857] Art. 124. Citizens of the Russian SFSR have the right to maintenance in old age and also in case of sickness or disability.

This right is ensured by the extensive development of social insurance of factory and office workers at State expense, free medical service for the working people, and the provision of a wide network of health resorts for the use of the working people.

[871] Art. 125. Citizens of the Russian SFSR have the right to education.

This right is ensured by universal compulsory elementary education; by free education up to and including the seventh grade; by a system of state stipends for students of higher educational establishments who excel in their studies; by instruction in schools being conducted in the native language; and by the organization in the factories, State farms and machine and tractor stations and collective farms of free vocational, technical and agronomic training for the working people.

[562] Art. 126. Women in the Russian SFSR are accorded equal rights with men in all spheres of economic, state, cultural, social and political life.

The possibility of exercising these rights is ensured to women by granting them an equal right with men to work, payment for work, rest and leisure, social insurance and education and by State protection of the interests of mother and child, state aid to mothers of large families and unmarried mothers, maternity leave with full pay and the provision of a wide network of maternity homes, nurseries and kindergartens.

[563] Art. 127. Equality of rights of citizens of the Russian SFSR, irrespective of their nationality or race, in all spheres of economic, state, cultural, social and political life, is an indefeasible law.

Any direct or indirect restriction of the rights of, or conversely, any establishment of direct or indirect privileges for, citizens on account of their race or nationality and also any propagation of racial or national exclusiveness, hatred and contempt - are punishable by law.

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18 [53] Perhaps the most significant aspect of this self-deification is found in the systematic endeavors of the Bolshevik leaders to emphasize the superior qualities of the Great-Russian people as compared to other peoples of the Soviet Union. The Great-Russians form less than half of the population of the Soviet Union, but they are the dominant nation in the state. The top Party bodies and the government and the managerial hierarchies, are overwhelmingly composed of the Great-Russians or of the non-Russians who have been thoroughly Russified. The Great-Russians constitute a majority in the branches of the Soviet armed forces deemed essential to the internal security of the Soviet Union. The Great-Russians predominate in the security police and its militia as well as in the air force and in the tank divisions and other mechanized troops. And the infantry units when composed of other ethnic groups always include a sufficient number of Great-Russians as a cementing force.[48]

There is strong emphasis on Russification in all schools of the country, especially the Party schools. In all constituent Republics, autonomous republics, and autonomous territories and regions, Russified natives or the Party members of Great-Russian origin figure as Party leaders, as top bureaucrats and top managers, or as advisers and experts.

In order to justify this policy of Russification and to accustom the non-Russians to the dominant position which the Great-Russians occupy in the Soviet Union, a myth of Great-Russian superiority has been developed by the Bolsheviks. At the Kremlin victory banquet on May 25, 1945, Stalin gave a toast "first of all" to the Great-Russian people. He referred to them as "the most outstanding of all nationalities forming part of the Soviet Union." According to Stalin, the Russian people "merit general recognition in the Great Patriotic War as the leading power among all the peoples of our country . . . they have a clear mind, steadfast characters, and endurance."[49]

A textbook on pedagogy asserts that "the history of the Russian people proves to all mankind their political wisdom, their military values, and their genius."[50] Other Soviet writings claim

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that "All the peoples of the Soviet Union recognize and appreciate the tremendous historical mission which the Great-Russian people is performing, as the outstanding people of the Soviet fraternity of nations."[51] In the same manner Grekov, a Soviet academician and one of the most outstanding Soviet historians, claims that the Russians, owing to their fighting ability and their readiness to sacrifice themselves for a good cause, saved the Western European civilization from barbarism and destruction even in the middle ages.[52]

Innate superiority of the Great-Russians is said to have manifested itself in an unsurpassable inventive genius. Hence the Russian military strategists, scholars and technicians are credited with a number of outstanding inventions which have been heretofore generally regarded as being developed in the Western countries. It is claimed, for instance, that the "Soviet Military science" developed by the Great-Russians is superior to any bourgeois concept of war. Also, most of the basic technological discoveries and inventions, from the spinning wheel to the nuclear nature of the atom, are said to have been the result of the "creative work of Russian genius,"[53] but "wrongfully ascribed to Germans, Englishmen, Americans, and Italians."[54]

Dominance of the Russians over the other peoples of the Soviet Union contradicts both the Socialistic doctrines and the Bolshevik myth of equality of all national and ethnic groups. As a result of Bolshevik policies of rigid centralization of power which promotes Russian hegemony, national and ethnic autonomies provided for by the Constitution became illusory. Reaction to such a situation has provoked dissatisfaction among subjected nationalities, resulting sometimes in open rebellions. To stamp out such revolts the Bolsheviks had to resort occasionally to resettlement and extermination of the whole recalcitrant populations, just as the Turco-Mongol rulers did before them. As a result a number of ethnic and national groups disappeared as separate entities, such as the Volga Germans, the Crimean Tartars, the Kalmyks and others.

The Bolsheviks realize, however, that these are means only to be used in extreme cases and in emergencies. Their aim is therefore to promote Russification among all their non-Russian sub-

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jects as a means of permanent control. It is felt that only by Russifying the non-Russian parts of the Soviet Union and convincing them of the benefits of close ties with Russian people and Russian institutions[55] a common culture will be developed; on such a basis a feeling of unity, of common interests and of common objectives will grow.

It is in light of such circumstances that the earlier Marxian theory of linguistics had to be revised to suit the new situation. Present language is not considered any more to be just a "superstructure" destined to give way to a completely new language of Socialism. On the contrary, Russian language and even Russian script is looked upon now as the basic language and basic script of Soviet socialism. Contrary to earlier Marxian theory, Russian language is now looked upon as an agent of unification and control under Soviet rule.

Myths of national and racial superiority, however, do not appeal equally to all strata of the population. The toiling multitudes, if dissatisfied with their status, might remain deaf to such calling unless convinced that in different conditions their situation would become worse and even more precarious. It was to strengthen the latter feeling that the Bolshevik Party undertook to propagate a myth of the inferiority, rottenness, and damnation of the non-Soviet world. Building on anti-Latin and anti-Western traditions of the Orthodox Church and of Slavophilism the Bolshevik propaganda has attempted to develop attitudes of horror, disgust, and utter contempt of the capitalist world and of Western culture. Accordingly the Western society has been pictured as exploitative, war-mongering, decadent, decaying, full of internal conflicts and contradictions, and therefore self-destructive. The miserable, exploited, toiling multitudes in Western countries and their dependencies have been pictured as living in inhuman, deplorable and destitute conditions, exposed to constant unemployment and hunger, and heartlessly exploited by pitiless capitalists.

Because of this inherent and unsurmountable conflict of interests between labor's demand for higher standards and the capitalist's demand for higher profits, there is an intrinsic self-destroying tendency in the very nature of capitalism, the Bolshe-

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in that family, the new circumstances call for more leniency and more intimacy on his part toward his wife and his children. The mother at the same time, because now closer to her husband, is in no need to become over-attached to her children. Such well-balanced family relations come to closely resemble those in the Old-Slavonic family.

It is the children with such close family ties in an emotionally balanced family atmosphere that develop traits of moderation, self-control, responsibility, group orientation and humane feelings. It is in such families that patriotism, idealization of the past and longing for a more humane and more equalitarian political system are nursed.[28] In such families skepticism concerning Bolshevik mythology and opposition to Soviet system may be safely expressed. In such families also religion is cultivated or secretly practiced.[29] In such families apparently numerous anecdotes which ridicule Soviet regime circulate and are spread throughout the Soviet Union.[30] It is to break such family intimacy and solidarity which breed opposition to their regime that the Bolsheviks have shown increasing concern for the control of family relations.

But if the opposition to the Bolshevik regime centers in such families of patriots and humanists, the fate of the Soviet system might rest upon them, in the final analysis. These people might be reluctant to support a Soviet war of aggression led by careerists and fanatics, but ready to defend their Mother Country in the event of hostile aggression from the outside. However, in a war against the Soviet Union which the patriots and the humanists would interpret as a war of liberation from the oppressive, inhuman and destructive policies of Soviet rulers, they might be inclined to take the side of the invading liberators. Inasmuch as such people already find themselves at the fringes of Soviet power structure as specialists and experts in economic management and government administration, in times of crisis the shift of power to these people could easily take place.

Such a trend of development will be even more emphasized among the oppressed, but nationally-conscious minorities, than among the dominant Great-Russians. Millions of Soviet subjects who willingly gave themselves up to the German invaders and

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welcomed them as liberators in World War II, indicate such possibilities.

III

In studying personality growth in the Soviet society, one should take into account also the differences between the urban and the rural environments and the influences of those environments on interpersonal relations within the family circle. Owing to the very rapid pace of urbanization and low rate of production of consumption goods, most of the families located in the urban areas are exposed to the housing shortage and lack of home privacy. Many of these families live in community apartments in which there is only one room per family and in which a number of unrelated families share a common kitchen and toilet facilities. Family conflicts and tensions tend to be intensified in such circumstances. Lack of privacy, noisiness, and lack of sleep in crowded quarters, together with the lack of sufficient food, long hours of work and unsatisfactory conditions of work increase dissatisfactions and magnify existing family conflicts. An outlet for dissatisfactions is found then in trivial scandals and bickering, in petty squabbles, but also in violent emotional outbursts.[31]

Conditions in rural areas are somewhat different. Though virtually all peasant families live in one or at most two-room cottages, which they often share with a few heads of livestock, yet the rural family does have its own privacy. Most peasant families possess a small lot of land around the cottage, on which they raise some poultry or a pig; some might even own a cow. Though this is all very modest, yet with some labor, after the work for the kolhoz has been done, the peasant family has been able to raise some food on its own property and perhaps to sell it on the open market and then buy some clothing and other bare necessities.[32]

Compared to the situation of the city worker, the peasant, though receiving lower wages for his work, and often going in rags, perhaps does feel relatively more independent. If he is an adult with a family he is much less likely to be pushed around, though he is constantly exhorted by kolhoz officials to work more